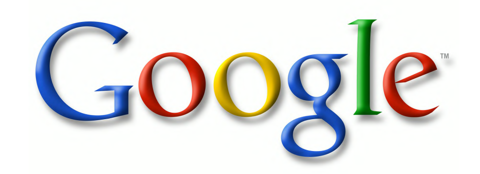



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With Mr. Hunter's Compts

NOTE ON THE UNIFORM SYSTEM OF SPELLING INDIAN PROPER NAMES

BY

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SIMLA, JULY 1873.

Note on the Uniform System of Spelling for Indian Proper Names, sanctioned by the Secretary of State in 1872.

PART I.

THE HISTORY AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE CASE.

THE history of the case is briefly this. During many years the practical inconvenience arising from the absence of uniformity in the rendering of Indian Proper Names had pressed itself on the Government of India. The same town, district, or boundary line, appeared under very dissimilar shapes in the Official Records. Each Local Government spelt after its own fashion; and the *Gazettes* of adjoining Provinces, for example the North-West and the Panjáb, weekly illustrated the conflicting systems of orthography. Even in the same *Gazette*, the various Secretaries to Government printed the same name in different forms, and the spelling of departmental publications presented an endless series of inconsistencies. In the maps of the Survey Department in which, if anywhere, uniformity might be looked for, the Trigonometrical Branch spelt on one plan, the Revenue on another, and the Topographical combined both. Each map exhibited the opposite systems, and the same word appeared upon it in several different forms.

Since 1868 a series of measures have been adopted with a view to remove this confusion. In 1867, the Secretary of State had requested compilations similar to the Central Provinces' Gazetteer to be drawn up for other parts of the country,* and the Government of India issued instructions to all Local Administrations "for the compilation of a Gazetteer for" their respective Provinces "in accordance with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government."† But an initial difficulty which had beset previous undertakings of the same sort again presented itself. It was impossible to draw up a systematic account of the country without having some system for representing the names of places, towns, districts, rivers, &c., and the question of orthography was thus pressed definitely home to the Government. Two alternative methods were before it, whose merits will be subsequently discussed. Here it may suffice to say that in 1868 it accepted the system which had been so successfully employed by the Asiatic Society, the Trigonometrical Survey, Murray's Hand-book, Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, and the Central Provinces Official Gazetteer, which had received the approval of the Secretary of State in the Despatch that formed the basis of the orders for similar compilations for the rest of India. The Home Department accordingly informed the ten subordinate administrations that this system "seems to the Governor General in Council the most suitable for adoption, and will be employed, as far as possible, in the preparation of the Gazetteers."‡

For reasons presently to be stated, these instructions failed to produce adequate results, and next year, 1869, the Council of the Bengal Asiatic Society urged upon Government the absolute necessity of "a systematic method of transliteration and spelling of Native names."§ Four months later, the Governor General in Council, in deputing me to inquire into what had been done

* Despatch No. 140, dated 23rd August 1867.

† Government of India in Foreign Department to Madras, Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces, Panjáb, Oudh, Central Provinces, British Burmah, Haidarabad, Mysor and Coorg, Rajputana and Central India, No. 1758, dated 19th October 1867.

‡ From Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, Nos. 2209 to 2216, dated 30th April 1868, to (1) the Government of Bombay, (2) the Governments of the Panjáb, (3) and Bengal; (4) the Chief Commissioners of Oudh, and (5) British Burmah; (6) the Commissioner of Mysor; (7) the Resident at Haidarabad; (8) the Governments of Madras (9) and of the North-West Provinces; (10) the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.

§ Letter of Asiatic Society to Government of India, Home Department, dated 17th February 1869.

regarding the preparation of the Local Gazetteers, directed my special attention to this point, and in November of the same year I submitted a preliminary report on the subject. I found that without a uniform system of orthography the Gazetteers could not start. "For to instance only one difficulty, it is absolutely necessary that places should be spelt the same way on the maps as in the text, and the Surveyor General, while fully recognising this, and most anxious to effect it, very properly requires that a general accord shall first be obtained before he undertakes the orthographical revision of the whole maps of India.*" It was out of the question for him to attempt to introduce a uniform system of spelling in the maps of India, and then be liable to be called on by any one of the Local Administrations to alter his plates according to the caprice of each succeeding Governor. The Director General of Post Offices strongly pointed out the inconveniences which his Department suffered from the want of a uniform system in rendering names of Indian places.† The same difficulty applied to other Departments, such as the State Railways, the Geological Survey, &c. These Departments have to deal with the subject in a peculiarly practical manner, for any uncertainty in the rendering of the name of a place leads to every-day mistakes.

* From W. W. Hunter, Esq., to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, dated 6th November 1869, paragraph 6.

† "There is no Department which suffers more from the absence of any recognised system of spelling Indian names in Roman character than does the Post Office." Paragraph 8 of letter from Director General of Post Offices to W. W. Hunter, Esq., No. 2638, dated 25th September 1869. Printed by order of Government with my Guide to the Orthography of Indian Proper Names, folio, 1871, page 145.

After much discussion I submitted a scheme substantially adopting the system laid down by the Government of India in 1868.‡ I found however that those instructions had proved inadequate from two causes. They had not made any well-defined allowance for names whose spelling had grown so familiar as not to be susceptible of change; nor had they organised any machinery for arriving at the really accurate orthography of Indian places. I endeavoured to meet the first of these omissions by laying down the principle that "names which have obtained a *popular or historical fixity* of spelling, must generally be left untouched.§" Such names, however, proved to be reducible to two classes, "in the first of which the fixity of spelling has so hardened and set that any attempt to alter it would destroy the identity of the word. In the second class the fixity is not so firmly established; and a compromise is possible, which by sacrificing something in scientific precision" to popular usage, obtains a sufficient degree of uniformity for practical purposes. At the same time I endeavoured to provide for the second omission in the orders of 1868, by collecting from the Post-Masters throughout India the names of every Post-town or village as usually written in the Vernacular by educated natives of the respective districts.‖ These names I transliterated into the Roman character as they came in.

‡ Nos. 2209 to 2216, dated 30th April 1868, quoted above.

§ W. W. Hunter, Esq., to Secretary to Government of India, in Home Department, dated 29th November 1869, paragraph 79.

‖ Letter from same to same, dated 6th November 1869.

This machinery was not proposed as complete, for it necessarily left untouched all names of districts, rivers, and indeed all geographical features except the towns in the postal list. It was also liable to various sources of error (which I explained to Government, when submitting the results¶) the great drawback being that many of the Post-Masters were themselves strangers to their districts. Thus in British Burmah, from which the returns appear to have been least accurate, the Director General of Post Offices informs me that there is not a single district Post-Master who is a native of the Province. It was however the only machinery immediately available for furnishing a basis on which to act, and it was accepted by Government.

¶ Preface to my Guide to the Orthography of Indian Proper Names, folio 1871. See also para. 2 of my letter to Secretary to Government of India, No. 196, dated 10th December 1871.

On the 28th February 1870, the Governor General in Council approved of the system of transliteration which I had proposed, and authorised its adoption in the Gazetteers.* During the discussion it had become apparent that whichever system was authoritatively adopted for the Post Office and State Railways, with the Maps and Gazetteers of India, that system would eventually have to be extended to other Departments, and the question again came before Government in a wider form in the latter half of the same year. The merits of the alternative systems (which I shall fully discuss afterwards) having been raised in England, and the one which the Government of India had rejected being pressed on the Home Authorities, the Secretary of State forwarded an exhaustive defence of it by one of its chief advocates, with a Despatch requesting the consideration of the Government of India to the subject.† This was the second of three Despatches within ten weeks which the Secretary of State sent on the question.‡ The papers which they enclosed discussed the two alternative methods on first principles, the official adviser in the India Office taking the view which the Government here had accepted. The whole subject was thus re-opened.

* Home Department letter to me, No. 1113, dated 28th February 1870, paragraph 2.

† From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 22, dated 22nd September 1870.

‡ The first was dated 4th August 1870, and forwarded the views of Mr. Eastwick, M. P., the second (dated 22nd September) transmitted those of Colonel Meadows Taylor and Dr. Rost. The third was dated 12th October 1870.

The discussion conclusively established the soundness of the system which had been arrived at by Lord Lawrence's Government in 1868, and affirmed by Lord Mayo's Government in 1870. This decision was presently to be re-affirmed on a broader basis. The Government determined not to reply to the Secretary of State's despatches until it could inform His Grace " of the definitive adoption of a uniform system, and afford some practical exemplification of the system in work."§ The "practical exemplification" was to consist of the List of Post Towns, exceeding 2,000 in number, which I had collected from the Local Post-Masters and transliterated into the Roman character. To this work I devoted almost my entire leisure during the latter part of 1870 and throughout 1871, doing it out of office hours, and finishing it in November 1871.

§ Government of India, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 6, dated 8th March 1872

Just as it was finished, a Despatch arrived, in which the Secretary of State again pressed for definite information as to what had been done "with reference to establishing a uniform system of spelling Indian names."‖ The subject was, therefore, once more and for the last time discussed. But little remained to be said or written, and Mr. Geoghegan, then* or shortly afterwards Acting Secretary in the Department which had direct charge of the question, after going carefully into the merits of the alternative system, pointed out its unsuitability, and began his concluding sentence with the words : " The subject is thread-bare." I was, however, once more called to go over the old ground and to re-state the case, and the old view was again accepted. Shortly afterwards I left for England to conduct certain duties, and up to the moment of my departure I was not aware that any single objection which had been raised during the protracted discussions, had not been thoroughly disposed of. These discussions had dealt with the settlement of a great variety of intricate points, and were for the most part conducted by personal conversation ; but the printed record, so far as it goes, will bear me out in this statement. The question had in fact been argued *ad nauseam*, and three months after my leaving for England the Hon'ble Member in Charge (Mr. Strachey) finally recorded that " the time has passed for discussing its propriety, so far at least as this Department is concerned."

‖ From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India, No. 24, dated 4th October 1871.

A Despatch was accordingly sent to the Secretary of State,* briefly reviewing the history of the case since 1868, explaining exactly the system which had been selected, and forwarding my list of upwards of 2,000 Post Towns as an illustration of its practical working. This Despatch was adopted by every Member of the Government, excepting General Norman. The latter recorded his objections on the ground, (1) that the system would lead to confusion, (2) while its necessity and (3) its scientific accuracy were open to question. But with regard to the first objection, the whole history of the case proved that it was a well-considered effort to escape from the already existing confusion. With regard to the second, the necessity for uniformity had been admitted by the Government for years, the only question having been as to the method to be adopted to secure it. With regard to the third, there was no question at all as to its scientific accuracy, as this had been deliberately abandoned on the ground that it is impossible to cut and carve historical names into exact philological models. As early as 1869 the principle had been laid down that "in this matter a Government has to consider not what is best, but what is practicable; a single breath of pedantry will stifle the undertaking."†

* No. 5, dated 8th March 1872. I reprint the despatch *in extenso* at the end of this note for purposes of easy reference.

† Paragraph 81 of letter from W. W. Hunter, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 29th November 1869.

The Despatch and the dissent went together, so that the Secretary of State in becoming acquainted with the action of the Government of India, had his attention called to the existence of another view of the case. That other view of the case was also before the Home Authorities in Colonel Meadows Taylor's papers, which His Grace had sent on to India. This divergence of opinion re-produced itself in the India Council, and as the question involved endless points of detail, which could not well be disposed of except in personal discussion, I was directed to attend and explain the whole case before the Members of the Council. One of them set forth with great ability, and the utmost force of statement, the merits of the system which the Government of India had not adopted. But, as had invariably happened in India, the Government system had only to be fully explained in order to produce a conviction that the preponderance of considerations lay on its side. The Secretary of State in Council accordingly approved of that system, calling special attention to the exception which I laid down in cases where names had obtained "a historical or popular fixity," and desiring "that some extension should be given to that part of the scheme."‡

‡ Despatch No. 12, dated 27th June 1872.

If ever a subject was exhaustively discussed it has been this question of spelling. The Government of Lord Lawrence affirmed the principle in 1868. In 1869 the Government of Lord Mayo carefully re-considered it, and again affirmed the question in 1870. During 1870-71 it formed the subject of much discussion by the public both here and in England, and attention was called to it in no fewer than four Despatches from the Secretary of State. At the end of 1871 it was again carefully considered by the Government of India, and in 1872 that Government sent its definite conclusions on the subject to the Secretary of State. Both sides of the case were exhausted during prolonged discussions in the India Office, ending in the Secretary of State placing his final sanction on the system which the Government of India had adopted. Not only had there been protracted personal discussion over every point, but every one who could possibly give an opinion on the subject had done so. The Under-Secretary, Mr. Geoghegan, recorded that some such compromise as I had proposed was the nearest approach to complete accuracy. The Secretary, Mr. Bayley, followed with an approval of the general principle involved. The Hon'ble Member in Charge, Mr. Strachey, declared the proposals good and practical, and that they should be approved. The Viceroy summed up the discussion by recording that "Mr. Hunter's plan seems to be the only practical way of attaining to a correct spelling of Indian Proper Names."

I have abstained from breaking the official narrative by any digression touching the merits of the alternative systems. This aspect of the case will be fully discussed in Part II of this Note. The present part deals only with the fact that Government arrived at its conclusion not hastily, but after a careful discussion protracted over four and a half years; that this conclusion was affirmed under Lord Lawrence, re-affirmed under Lord Mayo, and has been finally sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

It only remained to carry out these orders. I had very fully explained the inadequacies and sources of error in the list of towns which I had compiled by means of the local Post-masters.* These lists were only tentative, and constructed by means of such machinery as existed ready to our hands with a view to a practical illustration of the system. Accordingly, the Government of India, in circulating the Secretary of State's Despatch, and issuing orders for carrying out the prescribed system, directed the Local Governments to draw up new and more exhaustive lists of all places within their territory, in tables similar to those which I had circulated to the Post-masters.†

* Letter from W. W. Hunter, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 196, dated 10th December 1871, and Preliminary Note to my Guide to the Orthography of Indian Proper Names, pages ix to xiii.

† From Secretary to the Government of India, to all Local Governments and Administrations, Nos. 15/406 to 415, dated Simla, 17th October 1872.

Four years and a half had thus elapsed since the first declaration of the Government of India's views on the subject on the 30th April 1868,‡ and, so far as it is possible to obtain a definite official settlement of any question, such a settlement had been obtained with regard to the present one.

‡ Referred to in paragraph 8 of the Government of India's Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, No. 5, dated 5th March 1872.

In the meanwhile, a degree of success had been almost unexpectedly secured in the practical carrying out of the system, sufficient to render any re-opening of the question inexpedient. I say almost unexpectedly, for the machinery originally laid down for carrying out the measure had not yet been put in motion§ This machinery consisted essentially of the Surveyor General's maps, the Gazetteers or Statistical Account of India, and the Post Office Guide. It was, however, found impracticable to introduce the system immediately into the Postal Guide for want of suitable type. The Gazetteers and Statistical Account of India, with the revised maps which accompany them, are necessarily a work of time. It is simply impossible for any of the Local Governments not to follow the system to which the Gazetteers and maps will give an official and at the same time a popular fixity of spelling; as indeed may be seen in the case of the Central Provinces, the only administration for which the completed Gazetteer has yet been published.

§ Letters from W. W. Hunter, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 6th November 1869, paragraph 7, and 9th November 1869, paragraphs 78 and 81.

Nevertheless, in anticipation of the machinery which was relied upon to produce the effect, the system had met with an unexpected amount of acceptation I cannot speak definitely of Southern India, as there is no information in the file on the subject; and as I had not been able to visit Madras, and obtain an accord on the part of the heads of the Government, little was expected from that Presidency. As regards Bombay, however, the Hon'ble Mr. Ellis whose opinion in matters touching that Presidency carries special weight, has pointed out to me that, while the current Gazettes appear to vary as to the system employed, yet the more permanent records seem to have adopted the one laid down by the Government of India and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. He has sent me, as an illustration, the volume marginally noted, taken at random from the papers before him at the last time that I had the advantage of receiving his views on the subject. I have carefully gone through this book, and I find that as regards accents and scientific

"Papers relating to the introduction of revised rates of assessment into part of the Nipbár and Chándúr Tálukás, in the Násik Collectorate," 1872.

accuracy its later documents carry out the system sanctioned by the Secretary of State to a degree that leaves nothing to be desired. Thus, even the historical town of Púna or Poonah is spelt by the Superintendent of Revenue Survey and Assessment as Púna, while much care is generally bestowed upon the accents. Passing northwards, the results are even more satisfactory. The Central Provinces has carried out the system alike in its Gazettes and its records. So, also, has the Government of the Panjáb. The same result has been accomplished in Oudh, although with some temporary fluctuations. In the great province of Lower Bengal these variations are larger. At one time it seemed to be resolved to carry out the system *per saltum*, and a variety of changes were made, apparently without the preliminary enquiries requisite to ascertain the true spelling of the names. This effort was premature, and did not produce permanently uniform results. At present the *Calcutta Gazette* and the Bengal Civil List illustrate both systems. The Calcutta University, and in general the Education Department, having adopted the system now sanctioned by the Secretary of State, are diffusing it widely among the rising generation. Other Departments have held back, and we accordingly find the same name again and again spelt differently, at different pages of the Gazette or Civil List. Thus, at pages 85, 86, and 87 of the last Bengal Civil List,* the word Munsif appears as Moonsiff, while at pages 88, 90, and 92 it appears as Munsif. If we descend to the names of individual persons, each single page supplies a long list of similar inconsistencies.

* "Corrected up to 1st April 1873."

The only Government that can be cited as having consistently opposed the system is that of the North-West Provinces. Sir William Muir, from the very first, declared himself in favor of the method opposed to that which had been laid down as most suitable by the Government of India in 1868, re-considered in 1869, re-affirmed in 1870, again considered in 1871, finally decided upon in 1872, and subsequently sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Any opinions which Sir William Muir may express on the subject are deserving of most respectful consideration. But they have been considered again and again by the Government of India, being in fact the embodiment of the alternative system to the one in favor of which the Government of India has so repeatedly declared. They have also been placed before the Secretary of State in the papers by Colonel Meadows Taylor, and, I may be permitted to add, were very forcibly and ably represented by Sir Frederick Halliday at the discussion which I was directed to attend in the India Office. It would have been very pleasant to have had so eminent an authority as Sir William Muir in accord with the Government of India. But the views of no single administrator, however deserving of respect, can stand against the more weighty consensus of opinion of the four and a half years during which the subject was under exhaustive discussion.

It is, however, the less difficult to dispense with entire unanimity in the present case, as the North-Western Provinces are hemmed in by three Governments, namely the Panjáb, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, who have heartily adopted the system. On the remaining side, namely towards Bengal, the system has only been half carried into effect; but its final adoption will necessarily follow the publication of the District Statistical Accounts and revised maps now under preparation. Meanwhile these District Gazetteers for the North-West are being printed off on the uniform system. Finally, in the North-West Provinces themselves, the gentleman who is designated to the Governorship was the very member of the Government of India who is in a special manner pledged to carry out the reform. Any action in the matter of a Government already so isolated, and whose immediate future promises so well for the acceptance of the system laid down by the Government of India, should, I venture to submit, be deferred.

But after all, it is with those Departments from which a more accurate knowledge of India emanates, that the final success of the measure rests. Government maintains at a cost of £163,964 per annum four Departments whose function it is to obtain and diffuse a truer acquaintance with the country.* The first, and by far the most important of these, is that presided over by the Surveyor General of India; the other three are the Archæological Survey, the Geological Survey, and the Statistical Survey of the country at present being conducted under my superintendence. Each of these issues a series of publications of its own, and from the aggregate of these publications the future history and geography of India will be written. Moreover, each of them has faithfully accepted the mode of rendering Indian names, which has been laid down by the Government. At first the Surveyor General was undecided as to the merits of the alternative system, but after a very full discussion of the question he gave in his accord to the plan which I suggested in 1869, and which the Government accepted in April 1870.† Until the publication of my Statistical Accounts, it is impossible to effect anything like a complete reform in the maps; but during the past few years, the revision of the maps has gone on *pari passu* with the preparation of these Accounts. The Surveyor-General having now adopted the system, has repeatedly urged upon me the disastrous effects which would be caused by any subsequent alteration, or by permitting anything like uncertainty to creep into the public mind as to the absolute finality of the system sanctioned by the Secretary of State. The orthography of the maps having once been decided upon, any further discussion can only unsettle the minds of the Survey Officers, and lead to confusion and expense. It may be well to reproduce *in extenso* a letter which he has recently addressed to me on the subject, in which he strongly protests against any such tampering with a decision at which the Government of India had so deliberately arrived:—‡

† Letter from Surveyor General of India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 561, dated 19th March 1870.

‡ From Colonel H. L. Thuillier, C.S.I., Surveyor-General of India, to W. W. Hunter, Esq., dated 11th June 1873.

"There are rumours in the newspapers of the probability of a re-opening of the great question of the orthography of Indian names and the transliteration of the vernacular on one uniform system.

"From what has already passed and the time we have expended in endeavouring to arrive at something practical and definite towards the solution of a most difficult matter, it appears to me very undesirable at this period to make a retrograde movement, or to unsettle the decision which has been arrived at by the highest authorities both in India and England. After much uncertainty and conflicting practice we have now arrived at a definite basis to work from, which is just beginning to be understood, and as far as the general principle is concerned, I should hope there is no chance of the system being changed.

"In the interests of the Surveys throughout India, any further change now, or any distinction of systems for different Provinces, would be highly prejudicial, and I should be sorry to see the minds of Executive Officers unsettled again by a discussion which would only confirm the fact so apparent that every man has his own view of the subject."

But the evils inseparable from any re-discussion of the subject would not be confined merely to the Official Departments. The views of the Government of India have been rendered so familiar to the public, and have been urged upon the public by such formal official acts, as to create a pledge that the Government, having definitely arrived at a conclusion, will not alter its mind. With a

* Namely (1) the Surveyor General's, including the Trigonometrical and Topographical, but exclusive of the Mathematical Instrument Department, (2) the Geological Survey, (3) the Archæological, and (4) the Statistical Department. Budget Estimate for 1873-74.

view to obtaining the public acquiescence in the system, the Government promulgated a series of papers in the *Gazette of India*, dated the 31st May 1870, in which it finally adopted the system for the Gazetteers. Since then, many authors and printers have gone to considerable expense in bringing their publications into accord with the system thus laid down. Not to mention cases in England, like the Encyclopædia Brittannica (the largest national publication of the sort), which is revising its whole spelling of Indian names upon the system sanctioned by the Secretary of State, any re-discussion would involve a very great wrong to various publishers and authors in India. Thus, the author of perhaps the most extensively circulated Indian School Book ever published in India, lately wrote to me in the following terms:—*

* Letter from E. Lethbridge Esq., to W. W. Hunter, Esq., dated 17th June 1873.

"I have heard a rumour of a possibility of the Government re-opening the spelling question. I hope it is not true, and I wish, as an author and an editor, to be allowed to enter my protest against any change. After much labour I have brought my "History of India for Schools," which contains also a brief view of Indian Geography into accord with the system adopted by the Government of India, and finally sanctioned by the Secretary of State in 1872. The work is the accepted text-book of the University of Calcutta; the whole of the first edition, consisting of five thousand copies was sold before the end of last February, and copies of it are in use in every English-teaching School from Peshâwar to Rangoon. Already many thousands of the educated youths of the country have acquired from it a knowledge of the only rational system of spelling Indian proper names. My publishers have just brought out a very large second edition, sufficient for the requirements of some years; and I venture to point out that any re-opening of the question would amount to a breach of faith to myself and many other authors, who at great trouble and expense have brought our works into accord with the system to which the Secretary of State gave his final approval."

But authors are not the class of men on whom a re-discussion of the question would fall most injuriously. Several of the newspapers have introduced the spelling at a very considerable outlay in training their employés and in purchasing the requisite type. Whichever of the alternative systems had been adopted by Government, this expenditure for additional type would have been forced upon publishers and the newspaper press. What I would urge and what the Editors themselves have not been slow to urge on me, is, that having been induced to bring their publications into accord with the system formally promulgated by Government in its *Gazette*, they should not now be condemned to lose the labour and money they have thus expended. I am unable to state the precise extent to which the newspaper press at present adopts the system, and I see that the uncertainty that has been permitted to arise on the subject has caused things to stand still, or even to retrograde, during my absence from India in 1872. In November 1871, when I last enquired into the matter, the state of things throughout Northern India stood thus: The *Englishman*, the leading journal of Bengal, had adopted the system in its entirety, and indeed sometimes displayed a degree of purism which was to be deprecated. The *Pioneer*, the leading journal of the North-Western Provinces, had made an effort to adopt it in a looser manner, but relapsed, owing to an uncertainty having been allowed to arise as to the finality of the Government's orders. The proprietor has now finally declared to me his willingness to carry out the proposed change as soon as this uncertainty ceases. *Indian Public Opinion*, the leading paper in the Panjáb, carried the system to its furthest practicable limits. So also, I was informed, did the *Jabalpur Chronicle*, the leading journal in the Central Provinces. Letters which I have received from various Editors bring out in a very strong light the practical utility of the system, and the convenience which they find in employing it when once they have fairly adopted it. But before a paper can adopt either this or

the alternative system, it must lay out some money, and its Editor must expend much trouble in training his subordinates.' I shall quote two letters which I have received on this subject from gentlemen whose position gives their opinion special weight:—

Letter from the Editor of the *Calcutta Review*.

"As the Editor of the only Quarterly in India—the *Calcutta Review*—I can speak with confidence as to the amount of success which the system has already obtained. Every three months I receive at least twenty or thirty manuscripts, representing (I may be permitted to say) the great bulk of the highest literary power and the highest thought in India. I have been delighted to observe during the past year a gradual order and method in the spelling of proper names—formerly utterly chaotic—winning its way in the writings of my contributors; and this not only (nor even especially) amongst the men of known reputation as scholars. I confess that, merely as an Editor, I shall look with the utmost dismay on any proposition tending to upset a system which is at last, after so many difficulties, beginning to work well, and beginning to offer some hope of finality and rest; any re-opening of the subject will unsettle everybody's mind and render the uncertainty greater than ever.

"I may add that the system has been gladly and thankfully accepted by the educated natives of this country, who now at length are able to recognise their proper names when presented them in an English dress. As Professor of History and Political Economy in the Presidency College, and as Examiner in History for the University, I have had occasion during the past year to look over many thousands of sets of examination papers, and I find that the sanctioned method of spelling has been adopted with surprising unanimity."

The Editor of the *Englishman* gives what may perhaps be considered even more important evidence. In 1869, when I was endeavouring to find a basis for a practical solution of the question, the *Englishman* was among the staunchest opponents of the method which the Government has since adopted. It argued that in the case of a daily paper the difficulties in training the employés were especially great. However, it ultimately recognised the fact that the value of uniformity counterbalanced all the obstacles, and it accepted the system promulgated by the Government of India in the *Gazette* of 31st May 1870. The result of the change thus reluctantly made is expressed in the following letter, recently addressed to me by the Editor:—

Letter from the Editor of the *Englishman*.

"As Editor and Manager of the leading Calcutta paper, I would protest against any re-opening of the question of the transliteration of Indian names. The proprietors of the *Englishman* were among those who did not find their own views of the subject fully represented by the Government's decision in 1870-71. But they felt that the system adopted in that decision was infinitely better than the preceding state of uncertainty, and they sank their own individual predilections for the sake of the uniformity which the Government then pledged itself to secure. The change has only been effected by much labour and constant watching on the part of myself and the Editorial staff of the paper. The proprietors would never, I believe, have consented to it, nor would I have given the outlay of time and labor requisite to carry out the change, but for the express decision of the Government of India, afterwards finally confirmed by the Secretary of State. The preliminary difficulties in the way of making the alteration are so great, that many members of the Press may well shrink from undertaking the task. But the result of the adoption of a uniform system of spelling is, I think, well worth the trouble, and I sincerely hope that the system will, for the present, be allowed without further interference to take root and expand."

It would be easy to multiply similar testimony. But it would be useless. It should be remembered that the evidence of a single Editor or Author, who

has gone to the expense and trouble of making the change, and who has found it succeed, is more valuable than the evidence of a dozen Editors or Authors who have stood hesitating on the brink. I may, perhaps, be allowed to add my own protest as the Director General of the Statistical Operations throughout India now in progress. The whole geography and administrative system of India are being published for the first time to the world. The work will fill probably not less than thirty volumes, of which eight are already published or in the press, besides four others of Records, which will initiate for the History of Bengal what the district accounts will accomplish for its Geography and Statistics. Besides these twelve volumes, two more are on the point of being sent to the press, and I believe that before the end of next year the number of volumes actually published will not be less than fifteen. I hope more. It is absolutely impossible for any change to be now made in the orthography of this great undertaking, and any re-discussion, or any hesitation on the part of Government which suggests the possibility of re-discussion, would throw the whole work into confusion. The officers engaged in it would find themselves involved in doubt as to which system to use, and delays and endless references would be unavoidable. The loss of time and money, and the general disheartening of the local Editors, would be a very serious blow to the work. In the interest of the largest statistical enterprise which any civilised Government has undertaken, I respectfully pray that even the faintest appearance of a re-discussion will now be avoided.

Any re-discussion involves a total re-opening of the question. The following letter shows how fatal the rumoured vacillation on the part of Government has already proved to carrying out the system as sanctioned by the Secretary of State. It is the more valuable as it comes from the proprietor of a paper, the *Pioneer*, who has hitherto refrained from carrying out the change, or in any way pledging himself to it:—

"I have looked through your book of standard spellings of Indian names. Your system appears to me to be a common-sense and convenient one; intelligible, free from pedantry, and sufficiently respectful to the modes to which long habit has in a measure wedded us.

Letter from the Proprietor of the *Pioneer*.

"So far as the *Pioneer* is concerned, I am quite ready, and indeed anxious, to adopt your system, but *provided always* it is to be *the* system, and that Government will lead the way by *enforcing* its adoption so far as possible; not in the half-hearted fashion they have hitherto dealt with the matter, for apparently each subordinate Government has a style—a "no style"—of its own. My own impression is that *uniformity* is of far more importance than the severest science."

So far as I understand, only a single one of the Local Governments has submitted a dissent to the system sanctioned by the Secretary of State, which requires consideration in this place. The practice and views of the Bengal Government have varied from time to time; and although the present Lieutenant-Governor prefers the alternative mode, his official publications illustrate both systems. But Sir William Muir has, as already stated, opposed it from the first, and now desires a re-opening of the very first principles on which the Government of India's decision is based. It is not a question with him of degree, but of kind. He desires the Government of India to return to the diametrically opposite method, and to represent the sound of *u* in *rural* by *oo*, and the sound of *a* in the same word by *u*. Thus he would spell *rural* as *roorul*. I shall deal with the scientific aspects of the case in Part II. Here it is sufficient to point out that such re-opening of the case ignores and condemns the continuous action of the Government of India and the Secretary of State since 1868. The view which Sir William Muir advocates has been again and again rejected. It was placed before the Government of India by Mr. Brandreth, the Commissioner of the Lahore Division, and one of the leading officers of the Panjab; again by Mr. Barton,

the compiler of a popular map of India; and again by Colonel Meadows Taylor in the papers which he submitted to the Secretary of State. But in fact it is useless to enumerate individual expositions of a view which has been steadily kept before the Government of India and the Secretary of State throughout the whole discussion, protracted over four and a half years, as the alternative method to that which the Government has adopted.

But indeed the Government of India has already expressly considered Sir William Muir's views, and definitively rejected them. In April 1872 he addressed the Government of India on the question,* and forwarded a careful exposition of his system in the shape of Mr. Barton's pamphlet above referred to. On this letter it was recorded that "the difficulties now raised were all considered, before Government determined to attempt the system decided upon. The result of Sir William Muir's determination will be that the North-Western Provinces will be isolated on all sides among provinces adopting the Government method. The Panjáb and Central Provinces have already done so heartily. Oudh and Bengal are taking steps in the same direction." The final order of the Hon'ble Mr. Strachey, who had personally conducted the discussions for four years, runs thus:—"Send no reply to this letter. It requires no orders." Sir William Muir's views were thus definitively rejected last year. The sanction of the Secretary of State has since then been obtained to the Government of India's system.

* Letter from Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to Secretary to Government of India, No. 1155 A, dated 3rd April 1872.

The only possible result of a re-opening of the subject is, either that the method sanctioned by the Secretary of State will be again upheld, or that it will be rejected. There is no *via media*, for it is the question of first principles that is raised. If the re-discussion should result (and when I come to deal with the merits of the case, I shall show that as a matter of fact it is almost certain so to result) in the re-assertion of the system sanctioned by the Secretary of State, the whole operations of the Surveys as regards orthography will meanwhile be thrown into confusion; the public mind will be again disturbed; Government will be exhibited as vacillating and divided against itself; and the adoption of any uniform system will be indefinitely delayed. No language could be stronger than the protests which I have printed at pages 7, 8 and 9 on this subject. These protests come from both official and non-official persons; and I think it probable that even more weighty protests will be lodged in England by publishers and authors who have been induced to revise their works, so as to bring them into accord with the system laid down by the Government of India. On the other hand, supposing that the re-discussion ended in the reversal of the system as at present authoritatively promulgated, how could Government expect any co-operation from the public in carrying out its new views? Without such co-operation it is absolutely impossible to arrive at general uniformity. But what guarantee could Government give that its new decision was final, which it has not already given with regard to its present one? Is it possible to conceive any stronger pledge against future vacillation than that contained in a decision arrived at by Lord Lawrence in 1868; re-considered by Lord Mayo in 1869; re-asserted in 1870; again re-considered on the motion of the Secretary of State in 1871; again re-affirmed by the Government of India in 1872; formally sanctioned by the Secretary of State in the same year; and subsequently promulgated to all the Local Governments throughout India? How can the Government expect the public to believe that any future decision on the subject is final, if it now re-opens a decision thus deliberately arrived at?

PART II.

The System sanctioned by the Secretary of State considered as to its Merits.

DURING the past hundred years, three separate modes of spelling Indian names have been more or less current. The first of them may be termed the Hap-Hazard Method; the second bears the name of its founder, Dr. Gilchrist; the third is, for the same reason, identified with the name of Sir William Jones. The hap-hazard method makes no attempt at any sort of system, but jumbles up the second and third methods, or takes the spelling of Indian words in whatever form they may have struck the uneducated English ear. It was founded chiefly by the sea-captains and adventurers of the last century, and resulted in such renderings as the Nelly Grey Mountains for the Nil-giris, Sir Roger Dowler, for Siraj-ud-daula, Crotchy for Karáchi, Sow Roger for Sháhu Rájá, and the Isle of Bats for Allahabad. As our knowledge of the country extended, the hap-hazard method superadded to its original confusion a medley derived from the two more scientific modes. The result was that the same name appeared in several distinct forms. In works of History or Government Records, it frequently required a careful inductive process to find out exactly what person or place was meant, and in alphabetical books of reference, the enquirer had sometimes to exhaust every possible form of rendering a name, before he found it. Thus the Marhattá Chief, Tukájí Holkar, appears as Tuccage Holkar; Ranjit Singh appears as Rungeed Sing; Asírgarh appears as Assyghur; Kúlkarnis as Cool Cunnies, and so forth. I have taken the foregoing from a much longer list supplied by a recently reprinted work, and it would be easy to multiply such instances. Even in the latest edition of Thornton's Gazetteer, it is very difficult to know whether one has exhausted all the possible methods or not, as the same word appears under the most different forms; thus, "Fatiabad" and "Futteabad," "Fattehgad" and "Futteghur." It has long been apparent both to the Government and the public that a hap-hazard method of spelling of this sort is absolutely incompatible with that more exact knowledge of the country which the last fifty years have produced.

The surveyors ascribed part of the delay of their operations to this cause. "Names have been distorted out of all recognition, * * * and many of our *adamulnisha* enquiries have been in search of villages which had no existence save on the page of the writer."*

* Report on Survey Operations and Proceedings, from 1st October 1856 to 30th September 1858.

"I earnestly hope," wrote a high official authority in 1859, "for the early attention of Government to the subject. The careless and unintelligible way of representing native names is a great and increasing evil. I may instance the Yomiah Allowance Lists which came up the other day from the Board of Revenue and are now being printed. Many of the names are utterly unintelligible, and many more only to be distinguished by a series of guesses."† It is absurd to blame the English nation for its aversion to Indian topics, when every single Indian word is presented to it in all the confusion of half a dozen different forms.

† Memorandum signed M. Norman, Deputy Secretary to Government (Madras), dated 12th March 1859.

The necessity for uniformity having thus become realized, the Government had to decide between the two alternative methods respectively identified with

the names of Dr. Gilchrist and Sir William Jones. Each system had obtained a certain amount of currency, and each is capable of a scientific defence. Whichever of these methods the Government adopted, it would, therefore, find itself vigorously opposed by the followers of the other, and also by those whose indolence prefers the old confusion of the Hap-Hazard System to the trouble of any change. Before Government resolved to enter on the task, it had to weigh well the opposition that any movement towards uniformity would thus excite. It had to consider also that within itself there were not only able advocates of each of the two methods, but that every one of its members was wedded by habitude and the prejudice which arises from long preference, to one or the other. Men hate to see any change in the spelling of words to which they have been accustomed, and regard the substitution of *u* for *oo* as a personal wrong. Nevertheless, the necessity for a uniform method was so pressing, and so universally realised, that it was resolved to face this opposition and to put an end to the confusion which then prevailed.

An inherent obstacle towards the success of either of the two alternative methods lies in the fact that the English alphabet is altogether inadequate to represent the more copious modulations of Asiatic speech. We have only twenty-six letters to represent the Sanskrit alphabet of fifty letters, and the Sanskrit alphabet itself is meagre with regard to several sounds as compared with the alphabet of the Persian tongue, which enters so largely into Indian proper names. Thus, while the English alphabet has only a single letter for the sound of *d*, the Sanskrit has two, and two others for the aspirated forms. It has four separate letters for *n*, with another separate letter and also a diacritical mark (*anuswara*) for the nasal *ng*. In the same way the Hindustani form of the Persian alphabet has five separate sounds for the sibilant which we express by *z*. If we go into the dialectic alphabets of India, such as the Támil, a new set of difficulties present themselves, and if we pass over to British Burmah, we find an alphabet of an entirely different type, and constructed to represent a totally distinct series of modulations from those with which the English alphabet deals.

The English alphabet, in short, is wholly inadequate to represent the more elaborated alphabets of India. Various devices have been tried to remedy its inherent deficiency, the most common being a free resort to double vowels such as *ee* and *oo*, or to a series of interlinear and diacritical marks. Thus, dots are placed under various of the consonants to show that they do not represent the ordinary consonants of the English language; and Professor Wilson, whose system is the most complete, at one time carried it so far as to have five separate *n*'s, the last with *four* dots underneath it.

This difficulty appears in its most practical form with regard to the vowels. For as far as the consonants are concerned, the English palate and tongue are so little adapted to the refinements of Oriental pronunciation that these refinements may be generally disregarded in common use. This is not the case with the vowels. The meagreness of the English alphabet compels it to utilise each of its vowels for several distinct sounds. Thus, the vowel *u* has the soft sound as in *rural*, the sharper sound as in *put*, the attenuated sound as in *pure*, and the sound of short *a* as in *but*. In the same way, the vowel *a* has several distinct sounds, as in *woman*, *mat*, *raft*, *mate*, *pall*, &c. But the first requirement of any system of transliteration is that the same vowel shall invariably have the same value and represent the same sound. In short, it is absolutely necessary to select one of the many sounds which a vowel bears in English, and to steadily adhere to it. Thus, Dr. Gilchrist's system adopts the exceptional and abnormal sound which *u* bears in the English word *but;* while the system of Sir William Jones prefers to take as the invariable value of the vowel *u* the sound which it has in *put*, *pull*, *cruel*, &c. Whatever the system may be, it must resolutely accept one uniform value for each of its vowels, and must adhere to it. It therefore becomes easy

for the opponents of either system to show that this uniformity, if applied to well-known English words, would lead to ridiculous results. Thus, the adversaries of Sir William Jones ask how *Durham* would look as *Darham; hunter* as *hanter*, &c. But they forget that the opponents of Dr. Gilchrist's system might retort by enquiring how *brutal* would look as *brootul, Fulham* as *Foolhum, cruel* as *crooel*, and so forth. Such pleasantries apply equally to both sides, but they form no argument in support of either, and they infer an absolute ignorance of the true bearings of the case. They tend, moreover, to import an undesirable tone into the discussion.

I shall briefly endeavour to exhibit the two systems by which it has been endeavoured to adapt the English alphabet to the transliteration of Indian names. Both systems have to employ the same imperfect instrument, and the only question is as to which of them makes the best use of it. I shall presently explain the characteristics of Dr. Gilchrist's system from the expositions of it which have been officially placed before Government during the late discussions. Here it suffices to say that it amplifies the English alphabet by a free use of double vowels such as *oo* for the first syllable in *cruel; ee* for the second syllable in *police;* and invariably employs the vowel *u* to represent the short *a* sound in the second syllable of *rural.** This system has been definitely rejected by the Asiatic and other Societies which deal with Oriental subjects. Nor has it found more favor with either English or Continental authors, who treat in a scholarly manner of the History or Geography of India. But it is defended on two grounds: first, that it has obtained a large degree of popular acceptance; and second that it represents the sounds of the Indian vowels in a manner less liable to be misunderstood by the uneducated English reader. The first of these arguments is challenged by the advocates of the second system, who maintain that their system has obtained a popular acceptance of a far more authoritative sort, and at the same time of a wider area. I shall, therefore, postpone this view of the case until I come to deal with the alternative system generally connected with the name of Sir William Jones, when I shall endeavour to estimate how far the argument of popular acceptance applies to each of the two methods.

With regard to the second argument for Dr. Gilchrist's mode (*viz.*, its accurate representation of Indian sounds), it may be well to state the case from the papers which have been placed before the Government of India during the discussions of the past four and a half years. Four valuable expositions were within a short time submitted by (1) Mr. Arthur Brandreth, the Commissioner of Lahor Division, through the Quarter-Master General of the Army, and supported by General Lumsden, who then held this post; (2) by the Reverend J. Barton, a Missionary, whose acquaintance with the vernaculars gives special weight to his views, and who is known to the public as the compiler of a convenient school map of India; (3) by Colonel Meadows Taylor, C. S. I., in two elaborate papers presented to the Secretary of State and forwarded to the Government of India with His Grace's Despatches marginally noted;† (4) by Sir William Muir, K. C. S. I., the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. The four expositions differ as to details, but they agree as to the essential features of the system. These essential features have reference to the vowels, and especially to the vowels *a*, *e* and *u*. It is in fact with regard to the vowel sounds that the two alternative systems are really opposed, the rendering of the consonants being a matter almost of indifference for practical purposes. The above four expositions of Dr. Gilchrist's system render the three disputed vowels thus:—

† No. 22, dated 22nd September 1870, and No. 24, dated 12th October 1870.

* This short *a*, or inherent *a* as it is technically termed, varies in sound in the different dialects of India, from the broad *au* of the Uriya and Bengali to the sharper *ä* of Sanskrit and Northern India; very much in the same way as Sir Walter Scott transfers the Waverley of his English characters into the Wauverley of his Scottish ones.

Dr. Gilchrist's system.

Long *a* as in the first syllable of *Tartan, Arran, Rájah,* by *a.*

Short *a* as in the second syllable of *Tartan, Arran, rural, Rájah, Siva,* by *u.*

Long *i* as in *police, ravine, zamindar, Aziz* (the Sultan of Turkey's name) by *ee.*

Short *i* as in *public, Siva,* &c., by *i.*

Long *u* as *rural, bull, cruel, Purniah* (the District) by *oo.*

Short *u* as in *put, Fulham, putra,* (Sanskrit, a son) by *oo.*

According to Sir William Jones' system the above vowel sounds would be represented thus:—

Sir William Jones' system.

Long *a* as in the first syllable of *Tartan, Arran, Rájah,* by *á.*

Short *a* as in the second syllable of *Tartan, Arran, rural, Rájah, Siva,* by *a.*

Long *i* as in *police, ravine, zamindar, Aziz* (the Sultan of Turkey's name), by *í.*

Short *i* as in *public, Siva, Rishi* (a sage) by *i.*

Long *u* as in *rural, bull, cruel, Purniah* (the District) by *ú.*

Short *u* as in *put, Fulham, putra* (Sanskrit, a son) by *u.*

There is also a difference in rendering the dipthongs by *au* or *ou, aw* or *ow,* but this is a minor point on which the various advocates of the same system are not agreed.

In short Dr. Gilchrist amplifies the English alphabet by a free resort to double vowels, while Sir William Jones does practically the same thing by using accents to show when the vowels are long. The advocates of Dr. Gilchrist's system base their argument of its being less liable to be misunderstood on the circumstance that no Englishman can be at a loss how to pronounce *oo* and *ee.* The supporters of Sir William Jones' method admit this, but they answer that their system of accents render the sound of the vowels equally intelligible, and that it is free from serious objections which in other respects render Dr. Gilchrist's plan absolutely impracticable and misleading. These objections involve a consideration of minute technical details which can scarcely hope to obtain a hearing in a short official note of this sort. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a single one of them. Dr. Gilchrist's system refuses to employ accents, and as it requires the vowel *a* for the broad sound of *á* in *Rájah,* it has to find another vowel for expressing the short *a* in the second syllables of the words *Tartan, rural, Fulham, Arran, Arrah, Siva, Rájah,* &c. It accordingly employs *u* for this purpose, on the analogy of the sound of *u* in the English words *but, cut, &c.* Now it so happens that the short *a* sound is the commonest one in the Indian languages, being, as it is termed, "inherent" to all Indian consonants, and invariably pronounced after them except when some other vowel expressly follows, or some other consonant is joined to them. It is therefore of the utmost importance in any scheme of transliteration to have this "inherent *a*" represented in an intelligible manner, and any system which fails to satisfy this fundamental requirement cannot as a matter of fact be carried out in practice.

Now the advocates of Sir William Jones' method assert that Dr. Gilchrist's rendering of this all-important "inherent *a*" by *u* does not represent the sound in an intelligible manner to the English eye, and that as a matter of fact it has been found absolutely impossible to practically carry it out. They declare, for example, that no Englishman would be able to correctly pronounce the words Rájah, Arrah, Ambálah, Siva, Déva, Bráhmana, Veda, Patiálah, and indeed almost any Indian word if spelt rigidly on Dr. Gilchrist's system as Rajuh, Arruh, Umbaluh, Sivu, Devu, Brahmunu, Vedu, Putialuh. No

difficulty is found in pronouncing these words as spelt above on the system of Sir William Jones, but it is absolutely impossible for the English eye to catch their real sounds from Dr. Gilchrist's rendering of them, and they would be pronounced Raiooh, Arrooh, Umbalooh, Sivoo, Devoo, Brahmoonoo, Putialooh. This applies to so vast a majority of Indian words (by reason of the constant occurrence of the "inherent *a*") that as a matter of fact no successful effort has ever been made to uniformly carry out Dr. Gilchrist's system in works of literature. The only modern book which, so far as I am aware, makes anything like a sustained effort to carry it out is Mr. Marshman's excellent History of India. Besides leading at every page to such absurdities as *Ravunu* for *Rávana*, *Dunduku* for *Dandaka*, *Vikrumadityu* for *Vikramáditya*, *Mugudu* for *Magadha*, *Yuvun* for *Yavan*, *Bulurum* for *Balarám*, every one of which the ordinary reader would mispronounce, he has on a single page the following renderings:—

Vedus four times for *Vedas*	...	...	Page 5, Vol. I., 1867.
Sivu twice for *Siva* ...	...	...	
Krishnu for *Krishna* ...	...	...	
Vyasu for *Vyása* ...	...	...	

Now the ordinary English reader, for whom the advocates of Dr Gilchrist's school are so solicitous, would pronounce these words correctly if spelt on Sir William Jones' system, and infallibly mispronounce them when rendered on Dr. Gilchrist's so-called "popular" method.

Even Mr. Marshman seems to feel this and does not dare to carry out the system uniformly. Thus he renders Súdra as Soodra instead of Soodru, the Kingdom of Andhra appears as Andra instead of Undru (page 20); that of Pándya appears as Pandya instead of Pandyu (page 21); that of Madura appears as Madura instead of Mudoora (page 21); King Chandra-gupta appears as Chundra-goopta instead of Chundru-gooptu (page 15); and while he consistently renders King Vikramáditya as Vikrumadityu in the text (page 20), he does not venture to do so in the side heading, but gives it both at the top of the page and in the margin as Vikramadityu. The truth is that after consenting to a hundred cases of unintelligible rendering for the sake of consistency, he finds it absolutely impossible to be uniform according to Dr. Gilchrist's system without becoming absolutely unintelligible.

It would be easy to multiply technical objections of this sort. But the single one given above sufficiently illustrates their character and their cogency. The supporters of Dr. Gilchrist's system rest their chief argument for its adoption on the ground that it is easily intelligible to the uneducated English eye. The advocates of Sir William Jones' method deny this position. They assert that Dr. Gilchrist's system breaks down on the most fundamental requirement of any plan of transliteration, *viz.*, the intelligible rendering of the "inherent *a*." That so far from being little liable to be misunderstood, Dr. Gilchrist's system infallibly misleads either "the uneducated English eye" or any other eye that comes in contact with it. That it does so to such an extent that even its most ardent supporters, after being led into endless obscurities, do not dare to follow it out consistently, and sooner or later stop short, and have recourse to the mode of representing the inherent *a*, adopted by Sir William Jones. That although it has a delusive appearance of intelligibility by using *oo* for *u* and *ee* for *i*, and has thereby obtained a certain degree of popular and even of official acceptance, yet that neither popular works nor the official departments which have adopted it, have ventured to uniformly carry it out. With regard to popular works, the above illustrations from Mr. Marshman's History will suffice. With regard to the

only two official departments which, so far as I am aware, ever adopted it, the facts are these. The first of these, the Settlement Department of the North-Western Provinces* does not venture to be uniform even to the extent to which Mr. Marshman carries out the system. The latest examples before me almost invariably represent the final *uh* of their system by the *ah* of that of Sir William Jones.† The second department, *viz.*, the Record Committee, failed to obtain permanent uniformity of any sort.‡ Consistency on Dr. Gilchrist's plan was found as impossible by them as by any other experimentalists in that system.

* *Vide* Mr. Thomason's directions to Settlement Officers.

† Thus *Thanah* invariably for *Thanuh*; *Hurowrah* for *Hurowruh*; *Jhinjhanah* for *Jhinjhanuh*; *Kyranah* for *Kyranuh*; *Kandlah* for *Kandluh*; *Bugrah* for *Bugruh*; all taken from a single page of Mr. Colvin's memorandum on the revision of Land Revenue Settlements, North-Western Provinces, Appendix I, p. 2, 1872. This, too, in spite of the maps and earlier Settlement Reports being more uniform.

‡ Notwithstanding their hasty adoption of it on their being organised into a Committee in 1820. Reports of August 6th, 1820; May 12th, 1821.

The argument of "easy intelligibility" being thus controverted, the advocates of Dr. Gilchrist find their *locus standi* cut away from under their feet. The followers of Sir William Jones found the claims of their system on a broader basis. They admit that their method fails to invariably represent the sound of Indian words to "the uneducated English eye," but they deny that any system can succeed in doing so. The English eye is accustomed to see the same vowel used for several distinct sounds, and it is only usage that acquaints it with the different sounds of *u* in *put*, *but*, *music*, &c. It is not in fact a question for the eye but for the ear, and where the ear is ill-informed, the commonest words are mispronounced, such as *put* (sounded like the *u* in *but*), for *put* and *moosic* for *music*.

No system of transliteration will enable the newly-arrived Englishman in India to accurately pronounce Indian names. The Hon'ble Mr. Bayley, whose long connection with the Home Department brought him into constant contact with new arrivals, has stated to me that young officers altogether fail to learn the pronounciation of Indian places from Dr. Gilchrist's system. For example, they pronounce *Meerut* as *Miroot*. If *Surat*, which is spelt on Sir William Jones' system, were spelt *Soorut* on Dr. Gilchrist's, it would infallibly be mispronounced as *Sooroot*. At present it is only mispronounced Súrát for Súrăt. I have shown that Dr. Gilchrist's method, if uniformly carried out, would be absolutely misleading as to the sound of the very first letter in the alphabet. The followers of Sir William Jones decline to make use of an argument which is not in accord with the facts.

They maintain that the objects of a system of transliteration are fourfold:—

1st.—To provide for the exact representation of Indian words, letter for letter, by the English alphabet.

2nd.—To do so on a method which shall leave no chance of mistaking either the word or the sound to any one acquainted with the system, and which at the same time leaves as little chance of mistake as possible to the ordinary English reader.

3rd.—On a system, moreover, which shall be intelligible to other nations as well as to our own;

4th.—And which is practically convenient for map-making and similar purposes.

They assert that the system of Sir William Jones fulfils each and all of these requirements. That it accurately and scientifically represents Indian words, letter for letter, while the other system represents both the long and the short *u* by *oo*. That it is absolutely unmistakeable by those who understand it. That it is as intelligible as any system can be to those who will not take the trouble to learn the sound which it invariably attaches to each vowel. That the sounds which it thus invariably attaches to each vowel are in accord with

the general usage of civilised nations, and not liable to be mistaken by them. Finally, that it avoids the constant barbarisms of the double *oo* and *ee* of Dr. Gilchrist's system, and thereby gets rid of a very great practical difficulty in map-making. In short they maintain that while Dr. Gilchrist's system fails to effect the single object which its supporters claim as its peculiar excellence, *viz.*, the representation of Indian sounds to the untrained English reader, the method of Sir William Jones does actually effect the four objects to be attained by a system of transliteration.

Whether these claims are well founded or not, I shall presently inquire. But I should here remark that the system, which for convenience sake I speak of by the name of its most illustrious exponent, Sir William Jones, has, equally with the rival method which is associated with the name of Dr. Gilchrist, a variety of modifications. Its most complete form is perhaps that laid down by Professor Wilson. But such modifications for the most part deal with the consonants, such as the use of the *ç cedilla* for the palatal *s*, the representation of the *anuswara* and the other nasals, or the employment of italics instead of infralinear dots to represent certain of the *d* and *n* sounds, &c. These minute distinctions and modifications of the consonants do not require consideration either with reference to Dr. Gilchrist's system, or that of Sir William Jones. As I have already mentioned, it is with the vowels that a practical system of transliteration has to do, and the tables at page 16 sufficiently illustrate the two systems in this respect.

In considering whether the claims of Sir William Jones' system are well founded, and whether it is (as its advocates pretend) really the best method, my individual views can carry but little weight. The rival systems have been so long before the world, and their respective merits have been decided upon by so vast a body of competent judges, as to take the question beyond the jurisdiction of individual opinion. The views of any single person may be cited as so much testimony for or against the system, but it is rather on evidence such as the following that a decision may be most safely arrived at:—

1. *The general consensus of persons best qualified to judge.*—Both systems have had their trial, but scholars have now universally decided in favour of that of Sir William Jones. It is invariably used by the modern standard dictionaries, alike of the classical and the vernacular tongues of India. I cannot recall to my memory a single exception to this rule; and although it may perhaps be possible to search one out, the lists of the two great Oriental publishers, Messrs. Trübner and Co. and Messrs. Williams and Norgate, disclose none. In the same way the system has been adopted in all works of modern Indian scholarship, and the followers of Sir William Jones confidently appeal to this vast concurrence of testimony in its favor.

2. *The general consensus of Societies who deal with Indian subjects.*—One of the first necessities of such a Society is that its Proceedings and Transactions shall be spelt on a uniform plan, and any failure in this respect involves its printed records in confusion. These Societies have therefore had to carefully consider the merits of the rival systems, and, so far as I know, their decision has been without a single exception in favour of that of Sir William Jones. The Asiatic Societies of Bengal, Bombay, London, Paris and America, follow it; and other Societies, not specially devoted to Indian subjects, have largely adopted it. I know no case in which a Society has considered the question without deciding in favour of Sir William Jones' plan. I had several communications with the Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society last year. It was found that the only system capable of *uniform* adoption was that of Sir William Jones, and, although it is impossible to introduce any changes *per saltum* into papers which deal with the geography of the whole world, and which often do not yield the materials for correct orthography on any system, I notice that the transactions of the Society now carry it out as far as

could be reasonably hoped for. Thus Sir Henry Rawlinson's late paper on Central Asia adopts it, so far as the rule with regard to names which have acquired "a popular or historical fixity of spelling" permits. Indeed, it would be impossible to write on Central Asia so as to be intelligible to the European world without adopting this method. In the same way the Royal Geographical Society of Bombay have given their formal adherence to the system, and addressed the Government of India with a view to having a list of all Indian Proper names drawn up on its principles.* The Madras Literary Society after a formal consideration of the question, came to the same conclusion, and their views were embodied in an excellent pamphlet signed by the well-known names of W. H. Bayley, Walter Elliot, and M. Norman, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Madras. The German Philological Societies have adopted similar principles of transliteration, as elaborated by the two celebrated professors, Kuhn and Schleicher. All these are bodies which deal not specially with India, but which have, after much deliberation, given their adherence to the system which the Asiatic Societies have adopted, and which is identified in England with the name of Sir William Jones.

* Forwarded with letter from F. R. S. Wyllie, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government of Bombay, to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, No. 655 A, dated 8th April 1868.

3. *The experience of the official departments which have tried the rival systems.*—The ablest exponent of Dr. Gilchrist's method claims as an argument in its favour that it was adopted by the Record Committee in 1820, and some years later by Mr. Thomason in his Settlement instructions for the North-Western Provinces. But, as I have already mentioned, both these efforts failed to carry it out. [See ante pp. 17 and 18.] They broke down as regards the very first letter in the alphabet, the "inherent *a*," which is also the letter of most frequent occurrence in Indian words. In short they found it easy to be uniform up to a certain length, namely, as regards *oo* and *ee*, but they found it impossible to be uniform with regard to the rest of Dr. Gilchrist's system without becoming at the same time unintelligible. On the other hand, a number of departments have adopted and uniformly carried out the system of Sir William Jones,—thus the Great Trigonometrical Survey, the Legislative Department, the Geological Survey, and I am told the High Court Law Reports, &c. These departments deal with very various subjects, but none of them have found any difficulty in consistently carrying out the system; and indeed it is complained that one of them has done so with a rigid purism, amounting to a disregard of the rule "of popular or historical fixity of spelling." In short no department of the Government has found it possible to carry out Dr. Gilchrist's system in its entirety; while many departments have found it both possible and in the highest degree convenient to do so with regard to the method of Sir William Jones.

4. *The practical experience of authors, and the growing acceptance of Sir William Jones' method in standard works of literature.*—In the beginning of the century this argument would have told the other way; but during the past fifty years as our acquaintance with Indian subjects increased, Sir William Jones' method has gradually ousted Dr. Gilchrist's system from standard works. Indeed it could scarcely be otherwise, considering that all the Asiatic Societies and the whole body of scholars (the sources from which a more exact knowledge of the country emanates and gradually filters down into popular literature) have accepted the system of Sir William Jones. The truth is that authors, no less than official departments, found it impossible to carry out Dr. Gilchrist's plan in its entirety, and the works which are usually cited to prove that it has received a large degree of popular acceptance, are not in reality illustrations of that method but of the Hap-Hazard System. Thus, they render the two terminals for "town" (*púr* and *nagar*) as *poor, poore, pore*, or even *pur*, and *nagore, naggur, nuggore, nugur, nuggur, nuger, nugger*, &c. With the recognition of the necessity of uniformity, such works must be eliminated from

the list of examples on either side. The very first step in any uniform system of transliteration is the adherence to a definite value for each vowel, and an unvariable adherence to it. I am not aware that any single standard work can be cited which has found it practicable to carry out Dr. Gilchrist's system in its entirety. Mr. Marshman's History is the most consistent example of it, but as I have already explained,* even Mr. Marshman, after submitting to endless obscurities for the sake of uniformity, breaks down at a certain point. On the other hand it would be easy to fill this page with examples of standard works on India which have successfully adopted and carried out the system of Sir William Jones. The following illustrations will, however, suffice. The two classical histories of India are those of Mr. Mill and the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone. I have Mr. Mill's first edition (3 volumes, quarto), published in 1817. Its materials were derived partly from sources which adopted Sir William Jones' method, partly from materials which followed the hap-hazard system. Its illustrious author was unacquainted with the Indian languages, and he took his orthography as he found it in his materials, without attempting to reduce it to any uniform system. The result is that both the followers of Dr. Gilchrist and of Sir William Jones may cull a list of examples in support of their rival methods from his work, while the whole is in reality an illustration of the hap-hazard system. Thus Dr. Gilchrist's advocates will find numerous double *oo* s and *ee* s, with the rendering of the inherent *a* by *u*, e. g., *Ginjee, Guntoor, Jumnajee, Junkee, Abdalee, Nujeef, Oosoor, Yogee, Sumroo,* &c. On the other hand Sir William Jones' followers might appeal to an equally long list, thus *Hindu, Hindustan, Yugs, Lingam, Madura, Multan, Puranas, Subahdar, Sraddha, Himu, Akbar, Suja, Bahadur, Ali.* But it is only fair to add that the hap-hazard system finds as many illustrations as either—illustrations which are a curious mixture of the methods of Gilchrist and Sir William Jones, thus:—

* See *ante* page 17.

According to Gilchrist.	*According to Sir William Jones.*	*In Mr. Mill's History.*
Fukeer	Fakír	Fakeer.
Muhmood	Mahmúd	Mahmood.
Bhagvut-geeta ...	Bhágvat-gítá	Bhagvat-geeta.

I have taken all the above examples from the index to the edition of 1817. The text varies still more in its renderings even of the same word.

But while the first edition of Mill (now long out of print) did not attempt uniformity in spelling, it was found necessary in subsequent editions to make the effort. Accordingly when Dr. H. H. Wilson was employed about a quarter of a century ago to prepare the present standard edition and bring it up to date, he also endeavoured to bring the spelling (as far as practicable for an editor of a well-known work) into accord with the system of Sir William Jones, which had by that time been recognised as the only possible one. The other great classical historian of India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, wrote at a later period than Mill, and consequently adopted Sir William Jones' system from the beginning, with an allowance for words that had acquired a popular fixity of spelling.

With regard to more recent works, the facts stand thus:—

If a person wishes to study the ancient period of Indian history, he uses Mr. Wheeler's History of India, Mrs. Manning's Ancient India, Max. Müller's

widely disseminated essays, or some of the popular expositions based upon Dr. John Muir's Sanskrit Texts and the works of H. H. Wilson. All these have adopted the orthographical system of Sir William Jones.

If he wishes to study the mediæval or Muhammadan period, he makes use of the standard edition of the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone's History of India, Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, of which I believe four volumes have already been published,* or to Mr. Edward Thomas' Chronicles of the Kings of Dehli. Each of these authors were distinguished Indian civilians, each held high administrative posts, and they have all deliberately adopted the orthographical system of Sir William Jones.

* I have three, and I understand that the fourth has issued.

If a person wishes to study the modern or British era of Indian history, he has resource to Wilson's History of India (being the continuation of Mill).

If he desires a brief and popular, but accurate resumé of the whole, he has resource to the text book of Indian History by Professor Lethbridge and Dr. Pope, a book now read in almost every English-teaching school from Peshâwar to Rangoon, and of which 5,000 copies were sold within the last two years. This work rigidly carries out the system of Sir William Jones.

If he is but a chance traveller, he gets his information from Murray's Hand-book of India, which also follows this system; or, if he has occasion to refer to a map, the great English Map of India is Dr. Keith Johnston's, which likewise adopts it. Indeed, it was from conversation with this learned geographer that I first became convinced of the absolute necessity for adopting a uniform system of spelling in any comprehensive work on India, and of the incontestible advantages of Sir William Jones' method from a practical point of view. Dr. Keith Johnston knew nothing of the philological aspects of the case, and came perfectly unprejudiced to the question. His one object was to produce a standard English Map of India, which should be in accord with the standard Indian books of the day. In many words he went wrong, because, as he himself said, he could not ascertain the real spelling; but he tried to adopt the system of Sir William Jones throughout, and any one who reads over his index of the 6,574 names on his Map of India in the Royal Atlas, will find that he erred as often in a too stringent as in a too lax enforcement of that method.†

† I may, perhaps, be deemed competent to speak on this point, as I have published the same list of 6,574 names transliterated on the method adopted by the Government of India in 1872.

The only works which can be cited on the other side are, with one exception, illustrations not of Dr. Gilchrist's method, but of that medley of the two systems which I have denominated the Hap-Hazard. Mr. Thornton's Gazetteer and History are the works which will probably suggest themselves to every one's mind. Mr. Thornton wrote with an admirable knowledge of the general history and military topography of the country, and made a most diligent use of the materials which had happened to accumulate in Leadenhall Street. But he was unfortunately unacquainted with the Indian languages, and no sooner had his great work, the Gazetteer, in four volumes, appeared, than it was discovered to be altogether inadequate to the more exact standard of our day. It was compiled under orders of the Court of Directors, and published in 1854; but early in 1855 the Court found it necessary to request the Governor General in Council to have the work revised and brought into accord with the existing state of things.‡ These were the initial orders, subsequently amplified by the Government of India and successive Secretaries of State, on which the present operations towards an Imperial Statistical Account of India were based. The same deficiencies which rendered it needful to revise the matter of Thornton's Gazetteer, rendered it also

‡ Despatch from the Court of Directors, to the Governor General in Council, No. 1, dated 21st February 1855.

needful to revise the orthography. Mr. Thornton spells words as he happened to find them in the very diverse materials which he used, and it was the inconvenience attaching to the hap-hazard orthography of this very work, which forced the necessity of some uniform system upon the Government of India, and acted as the proximate cause of the protracted discussions detailed in Part I of the present note.

The single instance of a popular modern work which endeavours to consistently carry out Dr. Gilchrist's system is Mr. Marshman's excellent compendium of Indian History. But I have already so fully explained its failure to do this, that I need not revert to the subject (see *ante* page 17).

I am aware that the foregoing exposition of the system of Sir William Jones will seem to its advocates half-hearted and incomplete. They will urge that I myself began as a writer on the Hap-Hazard System, and afterwards adopted the method of Sir William Jones from motives of cold expediency. There is, for example, a whole sèries of arguments derived from the philological aspects of the case, to which I make no allusion. But I have felt, throughout, that this note is intended for the administrative mind which will prefer dealing with the practical aspects of the case. Thus, it is not too much to ask it to be assumed that the philological arguments have been well considered by the Asiatic Societies and the great body of scholars who have now invariably decided in favour of the system identified in England with the name of Sir William Jones.

Nor will it now be needful to enlarge on the argument of popular acceptance to which the followers of Dr. Gilchrist appeal, and which I promised at page 15 to subsequently consider. For the foregoing paragraphs have shown exhaustively both the quantity and quality of the "popular acceptance" which the rival systems have obtained. On the side of Sir William Jones' method we find the consensus of scholars and of all persons who have to deal accurately with Indian questions; the consensus of all learned Societies who have to discuss Indian subjects; the practical results arrived at by the official departments of Government; and the practical experience of the authors of standard works of Anglo-Indian literature. I might add the universal acceptance of the system by Continental writers of every sort. On the side of Dr. Gilchrist's method, a number of works (generally of a less accurate character) are cited, which for the most part are illustrations neither of the one system nor of the other, but of a hap-hazard medley of both. Even the one modern work which endeavours to consistently carry out the system, after consenting to a hundred barbarisms that would infallibly mislead "the uneducated English eye," breaks down in the attempt. The Societies, scholars and official departments, which are the fountain-heads of an accurate knowledge of India, accept the system of Sir William Jones, and as a more exact acquaintance with the country has filtered down from them during the last fifty years, their system of orthography has percolated deeper and deeper into popular literature.

When the subject was discussed in 1869, there was an important exception to this rule, namely, the local Indian Press. In that year I stated the position thus:—" It is clear that whatever system of spelling the Government may adopt, it must make up its mind to encounter the opposition of those who have been accustomed to spell in the other mode. The Scientific Societies and the whole body of European scholars have decided in favor of the system of Sir William Jones, which is simply the system pursued by the general commonwealth of European nations. On the other hand, the local public generally prefer Dr. Gilchrist's mode of transliteration, and, with one or two exceptions, the Anglo-Indian Press adopts it. Yet one system or another must be adopted. For, in addition to the names transliterated upon these recognized systems, there is a vast number of Indian places, towns, &c., spelt on no plan

whatever. The choice practically lies between encountering a loud local opposition, or placing the Government's *imprimatur* upon a system universally condemned by the Asiatic Societies, and by the whole body of European scholars. The subject has presented itself in a variety of shapes for many years, and in 1868 the Government wisely determined to face the temporary local criticism rather than to subject itself to the permanent strictures of those who are most competent to pronounce in the matter, and whose decision will sooner or later become public opinion."*

* Paragraph 77 of Report from W. W. Hunter, Esq., to the Secretary to Government of India, dated 29th November 1869.

The experience of the last few years has proved that, in my anxiety not to under-rate the arguments against the plan which I laid before Government, I then attached a greater importance to the "loud local opposition" than it deserved. For no sooner had the Government formally accepted the system of Sir William Jones than the leading papers throughout Northern India gave in their accord to it with a quite unexpected readiness. I have already referred to this at pages 8, 9 and 10 of the present Note. Newspaper editors and authors of local works seemed glad to accept any definite solution, and willing to sink their own views for the sake of uniformity. With the exception of the *Pioneer*, the leading newspaper in each of the great divisions of Northern India heartily adopted the system; the *Englishman* in Bengal, *Public Opinion* in the Panjáb, the *Jabalpur Chronicle* in the Central Provinces, along with the *Government Gazettes* of Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the Panjáb. The one really important paper, the *Pioneer*, which did not consistently accept the system in 1871, has now given in its accord to it, on condition that Government itself will steadily adhere to it.† Every editor who has tried the system speaks strongly in favor of it. With the leading journal of each Province, acting as a daily exemplar of the method, and with the whole rising generation of natives accustomed to it in their school-books, the local opposition ceases to be an element to be dreaded. As the Gazetteers, new maps and general Statistical Accounts of India proceed with the growth of popular works which will be based upon them, this local opposition will altogether disappear.

† Letter from the Proprietor of the *Pioneer*, printed at page 10 of this Note.

It remains chiefly to explain the modifications of Sir William Jones' system, to which the Government of India has found it expedient to consent. The three principal ones are as follow:—

(1.) The use of infralinear dots or italics, with a view to distinguishing between consonants, such as the dental and palatal *d*, is rejected. It is abandoned on the ground that no typographical device will enable the ordinary English tongue to understand or to utter the nice modulations of oriental speech.

(2.) The use of accents is as sparingly resorted to as possible. Thus every final *a* in Bengali is the long *á* (except after compound letters as in *Nanda*). But for the convenience of typography, and in as much as the omission of the accent leads to no mispronunciation, we omit the accent. Again the common terminal *pur*, a town, has the long *ú* when written in the Persian character, but the short *u* in the dialects which use the Nágari or Bengali alphabets. We omit the accent, therefore, in common use. In more exact works, such as the Statistical Accounts or Gazetteers, the accents are fully shown. But in the maps and in the lists of names intended for the newspaper press and other every day purposes, they are only employed to such a degree as is required to prevent mispronunciation of the words.

(3.) A liberal allowance is made for names which have obtained historical or popular fixity of spelling. In a large number of instances no attempt is made to touch the accepted orthography, however

far it may be from the exact transliteration. Thus besides the great towns, such as Calcutta (*Kalikátá)*, Madras (*Mandráj*), and Bombay (*Mumbai*), which of course remain absolutely intact, there are a variety of less historical places, thus Howrah (*Habrá*), Cambay (*Khambáyat*), Dacca (*Dháká)*, and innumerable instances in the Madras Presidency which are not now susceptible of change. But there is also a large class in which it is possible, without destroying the identity of the word, to screw it up a little towards uniformity. Thus the capital of the Central Provinces is equally spelt Nagpoor, Nagpore, and Nagpur. We accept the correct spelling Nágpúr. The scene of Nana Sahib's great crime is represented alike as Cawnpoor, Cawnpur, or Cawnpore. We make no attempt to decide between the etymological claims of Khánpúr or Kánhpúr to absolute correctness, but take the easily recognisable form of Cawnpur. It is absolutely necessary to render the two great terminals *púr* and *nagar* on a uniform system. This is the more easily accomplished as they are spelt in half-a-dozen different forms at present, thus *pore, poor, poore, pur, nagore, nuggur, naggur, nagar, nuggore, &c.* We therefore invariably render them on the uniform system as *pur* and *nagar*.

A number of individual objections will probably occur to those who peruse this Note. It is impossible, however, for me, without unduly trespassing on the time of the Government, to enter into these objections either by way of anticipation or refutation. My instructions have been to state the question in its general aspects, and with the utmost brevity. One of the most common of these objections consists in mentioning a word which has obtained a popular fixity of spelling, and asking how it would look if transliterated rigidly on the system of Sir William Jones. All such cases have been provided for by rule 3 on the preceding page, and as I have explained at the top of page 15, a *reductio ad absurdum* of this sort is equally applicable to both systems, and forms no argument in support of either. Thus an able advocate of Dr. Gilchrist's system has instanced the Station of Saugor and asks how it would look as Ságar. This town is at present spelt as Saugor, Sawgor, Sauger, Sagur, and Ságar. If it is to be deemed a place of historical fixity of spelling, the Government system leaves it untouched. If it is not to be so considered, the choice lies between rendering it as Sagur accordingly to Dr. Gilchrist, or as Ságar according to Sir William Jones. The latter form is used by all official publications in the Central Provinces, and has therefore a popular currency, which Dr. Gilchrist's rendering has not. But I do not ask too much in begging it to be believed that every such difficulty or objection which can possibly be raised, has been considered during the protracted discussions of the past 4½ years, and thoroughly sifted and threshed out. This process can only be effected by patient personal discussion, and should any of the Members of the Government desire it, I shall be happy to supplement the present general exposition by a special treatment of any points of detail that may seem to require it.

